/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river. Yamûra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamûra run far /259/ away; Yamûra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamûra does not like it, says the piahi.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamûra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose
(784) injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topidhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamûra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
(782) use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
796 destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamûra it is necessary
1532 to give a least, naturally marked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Myceties) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/259/

121 756 784 In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

[114] [122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 121 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

[177]

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/ in 1947. They live in aldeias in Mato Grosso, at the Simões Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

131 361

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu,
"Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/."
Revista Brasileira, Year I.
Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de
Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen,
Durch Central-Brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/.
Leipzig, 1886; Unter den
Naturvölkern Zentral-
Brasiliens /Among the Central
Brazilian Primitive Peoples/.
Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[312] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoetti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoetti was open not only to the men but to women and children as well. Attached to the kadoetti was a small
[346] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[534] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept.
[784] Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

/262 cont./

601 In their kinship system the Bakairí distinguished parallel
605 cousins (paigo and koro or iri and iia, for men or women, respectively for male or female Ego) from cross cousins (pama and imiapi or eisambi and ierudu, for men and women, respectively for male or female Ego). The former were
601 identified with brothers and sisters, respectively. The term
604 referring to the father, chogo, was extended to the father's brother, and the term referring to the mother, seko, was extended to the mother's sister. On the other hand, the mother's brother, aogo, and the father's sister, iupuri, got special
601 designations. There were special terms for male or female Ego, in Ego's generation (as we have already seen), and in the first descending generation. Thus the children of male Ego and those of Ego's brother were called imeri, without distinction of sex, while the children of Ego's sister were called tekau and uasi, respectively for the boy and girl. For female Ego, her children, as well as the children of Ego's sister, were called imeri, while Ego's brother's children were uadoin and uasi, respectively for boy and girl. In the second ascending
603 generation, the grandparents were distinguished according to sex, being called tako and nugo, respectively, for man and woman. In the second descending generation a single term, ineri, designated all individuals.

582 Marriage between cross cousins was common but not
606 preferential. According to the data we obtained, there do not
591 seem to have been among the Bakairí any special rules concerning residence or taboos referring to the father-in-law or mother-in-law, or moieties or clans. Marriage was usually monogamous,
595 although polygamous unions were allowed. Judging by the Xinguano tribes, it is probable that such polygamous unions assumed the form of a sororate.

• 784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairí was characterized by a series of seclusions, or uanbi ("confinement"), during which individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them.

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunito. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called tabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of he perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunito. The girls then
881 began to wear aluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of bast bark.
881
291

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todoholoiinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uaiki and from which they emerged through the tadaumiro feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamiira, upiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacayrys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamiira deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called [illegible] heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa [illegible] second soul, iagatopuri, a more fluid element that

[754] [955] /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, sucked from a distance and then introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

[754] [114] [953] /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] [199] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

[754] [834] [262] [874] In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained usually enclosed in the kaapeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamiku. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate had fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

[989] [296]

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric design. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iwaiúri, the maize song; mahoiawari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevaiá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or aniéwatahéiá.

535 532 525 [184] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamíka, kinds of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

903 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakonti. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 233-241.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same rôle of /269/ creating the Bakairí is attributed to Nakonti. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

E16 [194] 539

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

77 /270 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamiíra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagaogóiri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagaogóiri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamiíra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vehement, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

• 787 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamiíra, kadopa, tapiehe, kaeoui, inanaguena, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanái, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, (796) death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanái was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the tadauaíro celebration. The other method was shamanism. 756 178 182 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have constituted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 956 287 216 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamiíra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

195 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamiíra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as weapons for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

Bacairi: SP?

bark cause suffer little or no damage where a dugout would either capsize or split. Canoe canoes would tear too easily.

When a jatuba tree suitable in size and condition of the bark is found, a platform of slender poles is built around it. Three upright poles are set up forming a triangle around the tree. Cross pieces in which the worker stands are lashed across from pole to pole. The outline of the canoe is then marked on the tree and is peeled off carefully by driving in flexible wedges in between the bark and the wood.

The bark then gotten is bent into the proper shape by building a smoldering fire on its inner surface and by means of poles used as levers on the sides, forming eventually a framework in which the canoe is wedged. The bending in of the sides too much is prevented by cross pieces. Sometimes the makers etches out a design on the outer bark.

The canoe thus obtained is a shallow affair and practically flat bottomed, which gives it stability. The bow is open and clay is used along the edges as a bank to keep out the water. The stern is raised somewhat but often water comes by it likewise.

The Bakairi, while making the canoes, fasted until the end of the day's work, when they ate pure food, in this case rice, farina and meat. It was explained that really they should have eaten nothing but piranha and beiju, foods that we did not possess. Sexual abstinence is necessary, and were some women in the menstrual period to pass nearby, the bark would split. After work is begun no one, in fact, must approach, and if he, unaware that a canoe is being made, does come near, he must not leave on any account.

Though we found other signs of the presence of aborigines in the neighborhood we never saw them, but that we were being watched carefully, there was no doubt.

With overhauled canoes we finally embarked on the next lap of our journey to the mouth of the Kuluene river. For another seven days we worked in the rapids, fatiguing and muscle-destroying work. Often we had to cut our way through fallen trees; for long distances canoes were dragged over dangerous stretches; many times the canoes had to be unloaded and the baggage portaged. The men worked naked in the water, and it remains a marvel how we came past the rapids without having suffered some serious injury and without having lost either canoes or baggage. However, the work in the water told on the men

SP6 Barara
Bacairi: SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waiwai SP8

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Nahuqua and the Kuikuro. [Plate XIX, 7.]

In the Yawalapiti village, the two shown were pipes made of bamboo. Instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half meters. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment.

Single reed-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Trumai, Yawalapiti, and Nahuqua village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the skin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used entirely in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the taboo. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Trumai village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. These flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the effect of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited.

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top

[text continues to p. 43]

SP8 Bororo
Wirham SP15
Bororo SP7
Yaruma SP25

there is a small aperture for blowing. This type need not be wet to play. [Plate XIX, 8.]

The only other object that might be called a musical instrument, that was seen in use, was composed of a number of nut shells joined together by a string and worn by the dance leader on the right ankle. In the dance, the beat is always accentuated by the stamping of the right foot and these rattles help to make it more pronounced.

Gourd rattles were collected from the Bakairi, and they informed me of the existence among them of the bull roarer, which is taboo to the women, but neither of these were seen among the other peoples of the Kuluene-Kuluene area.

The men were never heard to sing. In the ceremonies that are accompanied with singing, the women take that part, gravely accompanying it with a dance, consisting of linking arms with the palms of the hands against each other and the fingers interlaced, and taking three steps forward and three backward, leading with the right foot. While marching, the women were heard to sing softly to themselves, and apparently the repertoire is a large one.

Other Ceremonial Objects

The use of stools, flutes, and rattles, in connection with ceremonies has been noted. Although no ceremonies other than those described in the narrative were observed, a number of ceremonial objects were collected which show interesting features.

One of the Nafuquas masks consists of a piece of knotless netting with two splint rings sewed at the upper portion to represent the eyes, and with a painted geometric design in black and red to suggest the face. When worn, the net falls over the face and breast, and is kept in place by a string that is tied about the waist, and another about the head.

A Yawalapiti mask consists of a tightly woven piece of cloth, ovoid in shape, bearing a painted design in black and white, suggesting the face. Grass is attached to it on every side, so that when the mask is worn, the grass falls to the knees.

Another Yawalapiti specimen consists of a conical shaped hat with grass attached to the sides, so that it falls over the face and neck to the shoulders.